25. Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

602 The Orokaiva say that the *dambo* relation, although similar in many respects, is colder, more formal than the *simbo* relation. If a man dies in war, his *simbo* will die with him. The same intensity of feeling was not expressed about agnates. The feeling is the same where female *simbo* are concerned, except that "women cannot always do what men do." *Simbo* relations were especially important during the period of courting, war-like raids, and bravery in collecting war trophies.

602 572 The *simbo* relation resembles in many ways the kind of friendship described by Paine (this volume, pp. 117–37). There is a sense of worth having a *simbo* as a companion. The relationship is oriented towards what is regarded as the great things in life, principally love and war. It does not tolerate bargaining of any kind. It is not competitive exchange because *simbo* are not supposed to compete or exchange; it is not strictly cooperative either, as it does not bear the burdens of everyday obligations characteristic of the domestic unit. The taboos effectively separate *simbo* from each other on this everyday plane. In the mythical texts, we find an aspect of *simbo* [793] relations not stressed in ideology: in them, the *simbo* are forever playing nasty tricks on each other, depriving each other of benefits that are requested, and stealing each other's girls. But in such tales, virtue tends to win in the end. They form a charter, in Malinowski's sense, for the rules about *simbo* behaviour.

In the *philia* universe, *simbo* occupy a special position; namely a rejection or negation of both the cooperative and the competitive modes. The cooperative mode, taken by itself, leads to entropy; the competitive mode, taken by itself, leads to perpetual conflict. The *simbo* relation is a synthesis of the two, as is reasonable enough if one remembers it is symbolically equivalent to marriage, as analysed by Aristotle.

572 Fictive *simbo* bonds are sometimes created between non-kin who are engaged in an appropriate common enterprise and who desire to express 608 their mutual warmth of feeling. Such a relationship gives friends a kind of explicit claim on each other's property and services. Because of the name [551] taboo which applies loosely in these non-kin bonds, *simbo* tend to address each other by special names known as *simbo* names.

For instance, one morning I was working on a task with a Papuan friend, when a visitor entered with a gift of eating bananas. My friend broke off a twin banana and shared it with me. "Now we are *be pije*" (banana men), he said, explaining that this was one of the *simbo* names most frequently used. If the two friends happen to find a twin areca nut, they become *be sa* (areca men); similarly one finds *be hinga* (pepper men) *be junga* (fig men) and so on. The relationship is extended to the wives of the fictive *simbo*, who become known as *ka pije*, *ka sa*, and so on. Thus, my wife became my friend's "banana girl." While such a relationship was not explicitly described as hereditary, it is easy to see how it can be transmitted from generation to generation.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

572 The rejection of both the cooperative and the competitive relationship
602 applies to fictive *simbo* as well as to the genealogical *simbo*. The sharing of a
608 fruit is a ritual that is sometimes performed between a married couple; for
[824] example, when the community has decided to hold a feast. It symbolizes that the partners become one. But a twin fruit is not completely one; from another viewpoint, it consists of two separable halves. Here, it is again deceptive to speak of "fictive" *simbo*. Rather, it is more accurate to say that consanguinity of a certain type is one attribute of the tenure of a relationship while sharing a twin fruit is another equivalent attribute of tenure.

The basic concern of the *simbo* relationship lies in critical and dangerous enterprises, and inasmuch, it is reasonable to want the company of someone who, if necessary, is willing to die with his *simbo*. The relationship resembles marriage in its total interdependence. The Orokaiva system of classification is able to make a clear distinction between this pattern and the *namei* pattern with its far more stable socio-political setting.

572 (d) *Otavo*. Friendships are more numerous now than in the past when travel was more dangerous. The *otavo* relationship, which may exist between cognates and non-cognates alike, applies primarily to a specific activity in [439] which pairing is required. Its main starting points were, traditionally, trading and feasting. When a man visited a strange village to trade, say, lime, feathers, areca, or a string bag, *and* if buyer and seller were personally attracted to one another, then an enduring *otavo* relationship might develop.

572 Similarly, feasting occasions between villages often result in *otavo* rela-
574 tions. Partnerships have to be arranged for accommodating guests in host households. Sometimes guest and host families are strangers before the feast, but are paired together at a preliminary meeting. Such a relationship might be ephemeral but it is usual to keep to the same partnerships for the return visit. If the partners are sufficiently attracted to each other, an hereditary friendship will result. In the second generation, if not before, the *apa/eambo* terminology will be used.

[535] The term *otavo* is also used to refer to partners who choose one another specifically for dancing. The partners are of the same sex and they tend to stay together for long periods. They may or may not be consanguines.

572 *Otavo* relations are essentially competitive, both partners vying with one another in trade, prowess in war, hospitality, the dance. They also compete with the rest of the group in that some couples enjoy a higher reputation than others. Feasting partners make a great effort to gather many gifts for one another; competitive giving is, for the most part, on the level of households. Outside the activity, the *otavo* have no obligations toward one another.

In modern times, friendships can have many other starting points: work in a plantation, study in a boarding school, and other activities. Traditional connections were often with villages at the outer edge of the area where intra-group morality applied (in the sense of Williams, 1930), and sometimes a little beyond.